000 /121/ Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

114
[101] /123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría [124] Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant [614] and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, [615] two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

615 As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the
361 existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one
197 another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It
619 could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of
615 tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other
571 phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in
* 574 Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who
[601] did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the corre-
[101] spondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the
615 Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged
197 to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and
124 on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great
114 distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four
[124] phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

ooo /335/

Aspects of Tucano Culture
Mythology -- Part I

By Marcos Pulop

/Page 336 is blank./

114 /337/

Preliminary Note

• [101]

The material presented here was collected between June 11 and September 9, 1954, when field work was done in the 124 village /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés. Performing the functions of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra respectively, blood brothers and residents of the village of Guadalajara.

121 773 The mythology that appears in this article is a very small portion of the total Tukano /Tucano/ mythology. The author has considered it advisable not to analyze individually the myths published here, but to wait until all the Tukano mythology has been collected and published.

ooo /Page 338 is blank./

* 539 /339/ I. Boraró and Boraró Numió

A man and a woman stayed in Diaojpekowí, and they were brother and sister. These two beings do not have children, but will never die. When they want to leave Diaojpekowí, they turn themselves into spirits. The man is named Boraró, and the * 539 761 woman is named Boraró Numió. Boraró and Boraró Numió kill people by opening a hole in their heads and sucking out the entire body through this hole. They leave only the skin of the victim, which they throw on a tree /Sp. palo/. To kill her victim, Boraró Numió lies down face up and begins to urinate at a distance of about 150 meters from her victim. Boraró, to kill his victim, urinates standing at a distance of about 150 meters from his victim. And when Boraró and Boraró Numió urinate, everyone that is within those 150 meters falls dead instantly.

4: Silva SQ19 Tucano SQ19

101.

[For data on ethnic identification, see category 116, passim, pp. 5-191.]

4: Silva--6 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

Chapter I

The Habitat

103
101
133

The area whose ethnographic elements are collected in these notes is the basin of the Uaupés or Caiari River (1),

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8]

1. Caiari, or formerly Ucaiari, would be the original name, according to Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, who, in No. 184 of his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/" (see below, II, 2 /see p. 25/), says: -- "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manaos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attribute to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé."

It is to be noted that, although its waters are not as dark as those of the Rio Negro, the Uaupés is one of a number of rivers of "black waters."

"All these tribes," reports Wallace ("Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro" -- London, 1849, p. 335), "present some peculiarities in their idioms and customs, but all of them come under the general name of Uaupés and distinguish themselves, as a whole, from the inhabitants of the other rivers. This is the reason that the river is called Rio dos Uaupés (the River of the Uaupés), although actually its name is Ucaiari and it is called this by the Indians."

We read recently (May of 1956) in Luiz da Câmara Cascudo ("Em memória de Stradelli /In memory of Stradelli/," Livr. Clássica-Manaus, 1936, p. 7) that Stradelli mentions a powerful Tuxáua /chief/ Buapé, of the Taryana /Tariana/ tribe (whose ninth-generation grandson, Maximiliano José Roberto, accompanied Stradelli on his journeys), who would have lived around the end of the sixteenth century and lent the name to

/9 cont./

103
133
101

/footnote 1 cont./ the river (cf. below, Note 5, Ch. II /see note 8, Ch. II, p. 40/).

This belief has also been adopted today on the Rio Negro. We do not know, however, if it is based on the opinion of Stradelli, or if he gave rise to it. At the end of the nineteenth century, with Stradelli, the name Uaupés is presented to us as a corruption of the original word Buapé. Around the middle of the eighteenth century, however, Uaupé would be the original form from which, through corruption, the term Goaupé originated, and no mention is made of the Tuxáua by the name of Buapé, the memory of whom, if he existed, should have been more vivid at that time. Who is right? /The footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

Which language would the name Uaupés belong to? And what does it mean? The present-day natives do not know how to answer that, nor did those of half a century ago. As a matter of fact, Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 131) says only that the name is depreciative; this, however, because under the name of Uaupés are included tribes that are ignorant, wild (Wildstaemme), and scorned, such as the Tukano /Tucano/ and the Kubewãna, who fought against the more advanced Arwake /Arawak/.

In Stradelli's Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, we find the remark: "Iasaná" -- Breed of the Afflicted /Port. Casta das Rallidas/. Name that on the lower Amazon and on the Grão-Pará is given to Parra Iaçaná, which on the Solimões is called Piasóca -- and on the Rio Negro, Uaupé and Uapé.

The river in turn lent the name to a plant characteristic of the stones of its cachoeiras /rapids; see note 2, p. 9/. As a matter of fact, it is called uaupé or uaupé-da-cachoeira (and also carurú-das-pedras /carurú of the stones/ and murera-das-cachoeiras), an aquatic plant that grows on the stones of the cachoeiras of this river and that furthermore serves the Indians for the extraction of salt (cf. Note 51,

[824]
[263]

101
103
133
[824]
[263]

/9 cont./

/footnote 1 cont./ /see note 52, p. 320/, VI). (Cf. Gastão Cruls, Hileia Amazônica -- C. E. N., 1944 -- p. 35.)

The name Ucaiari (as is usual for the ones that end in ri or li) is of Arwake origin. In the language of the Arara-tapuya and the Kadáu-puritãna, the Uaupés River is called Ukayalí; in the Huhúdeni /Huhuteni/ it is called Ukávari (all three are of the Arwake group). It might perhaps be derived from U(ni), water river, and Kawale (in Kadáu-puritãna) or Kawáeri (in Hihúdeni /sic/), wind. Nevertheless, none of the old people of the various Arwake tribes of the Içana and Aiarí rivers whom we could consult were able to indicate the meaning of the term Caiarí or Ucaiari. Just as the other tribes who inhabit the Uaupés did not know it either. All of them designate the Uaupés as "Dya Poxsá," river of the Makú (?). This designation might induce one to think that the Makú (Puxsá /sic/) were the first to inhabit its shores, and afterwards, under pressure from the Arwake and Tukano invaders, went to settle in the interior, in the adjacent forests, from the environs of S. Gabriel as far as the cachoeiras of Jandú and Carurú (on the Uaupés River). The truth is that, according to the spirit of the language, River of the Makú should be translated as "Poxsá Dyá" and not as "Dyá Poxsá."

as it was known up to a few years ago, a tributary that flows into the Rio Negro about 50 kilometers above the town of S. Gabriel-da-Cachoeira, now called Uaupés.

133 The Uaupés results, according to Dr. Hamilton Rice, from the union of the rivers Unilla, which is the more important, and Itilla, both with their origins in the plains that border the buttresses of the Colombian Andes. After a course of about 330 kilometers in Colombian territory, the Uaupés advances in the

/115/

101 20. Oxkótirya poné (foam of the water where the Pirá-tapuya appeared), in Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés) (46)

46. Would the Wanana be considered brothers of the Pirá-tapuya, from which would come the matrimonial interdiction that is in effect between these tribes?

[273] 21. Dyaxtú panámina (grandchildren of Dyaxtú, that is, of the one who drinks pure caxirí /various locally made beverages drunk at feasts/), in S. Tomé (Tiquié), Bela Vista (Uaupés) (47)

47. An individual of this group informed us that he identifies himself with the 7th group above, Bĩixpó poné.

w) WINÁ OR DESÃNA.

1) People-Name-Language. -- In their own idiom they say Winá, the name, it seems, of a fish. According to Padre João Marchesi, it means wind storm, thunder, people of the thunder. They are called Detsana or Papuriwára by the Taryana. The suffix wara is from the Nheengatú and expresses origin; the name would seem, then, to indicate that they penetrated into Brazil by way of the Papurí. It is certain that when the Tukano reached the Tiquié, the Desana were already there and on the principal tributaries. In contrast to the Tukano, it was afterwards that they moved to the Papurí, perhaps even before the arrival of the Tukano in Brazil.

In the Tukano language they call themselves Wená or Wĩrá; they also received the nicknames of "muhĩ-pũ põra," children of the sun, and "õ mã̃-kori maxsã̃," people of the day. Such nicknames might be derived from some legend that we do not know. Or perhaps from the relative location of these two tribes, the Desana being in the eastern region in relation to the Tukano?

T
M
582
[101]

/408 cont./

There are, as we have seen (IV -- 2), three groups of tribes, which we call Tukano /Tucano/, Arwake /Arawak/, and Makú /Macu/. The serious obligation is that of exogamy. Once the interdictions that we listed in the Classification of the tribes are observed, however, the woman may be from another tribe of the same group or from another group of tribes. Out of a question of pride, no tribe will marry a Makú, who is considered slave and inferior; /409/ he is not "people," they say (3).

> 3. We know of a few cases of marriage by men of other tribes (Tukano, Tuyuka, Desana, Ipeka) with a Makú woman. None of a Makú man with a woman from another tribe. Among these few cases, that of a young woman, although already orphaned in 1947, a resident of the Tuyuka maloca of the locality of S. Pedro, river Tiquié, whose father was Tukano and the mother, Makú. We were not able to verify whether her mother was a legitimate wife or simply a concubine; or, further, whether she had been born from a casual relationship. We do not know either, under the first hypothesis, for what reasons such a marriage had taken place. Perhaps a lack of women? Or due to a physical defect of the man (it is to be noted that the girl was cross-eyed)? Or because of living among the Makú of the Gí-paraná or Komé-ya (trib. of the Pirá-paraná)?

T
M
851
563

If they nevertheless manage to catch some young Makú girl, they might have her as a concubine, along with the legitimate wife. They will avoid, however, having children with the Makú; and if, in spite of this, they do have them (for example, the grandmother of Maria Gama from Urubucuara), they are considered

T
M /409 cont./
851 legitimate and belong to the father's tribe (4).
563

4. In Paraíba-poço, river Tiquié, a Tukano, upon presenting to be baptized a child he had had with a Makú, at first denied his paternity, saying that it "did not have a father."

T
• 101 Marriages between Taryana and Desãna do not take place. We
582 do not know the reasons, however; it does not seem to be because
563 of pride, because the Tukano themselves, considered the most noble group, marry Desãna, as well as Taryana. It is to be noted that the Taryana and Desãna idioms, belonging to different linguistic families, make us think in terms of a great distance between these tribes. Nevertheless they tell us that there is no marriage between them because they are "brothers."

T
582 Likewise, the Tukano do not marry the Bará. The Tukano
563 explain that the Bará are their grandparents, Pax-kõ-Ro. Nor the
614 Pirá-tapuya the Wanana and Arapásu; or the Arapásu the Miritĩ,
[601] Wanana, and Desana; nor the Taryana the Ipeka-tapuya; nor, finally, the Desana the Taryana, Tuyuka, Pira-tapuya, and Arapásu.

It is among the Miritĩ-tapuya that the largest number of interdictions is in force, that is, they cannot marry the Desana, Tuyuka, Arapásu, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka-tapuya, and Taryana.

T
582 b) The second law is that of the exchange of the women of
614 one tribe for the women of another one. Or, with more accuracy, a father will give his daughter as a wife to the son of another family, in order to have a sister of the latter as a wife for his son.
T
*[192] It is what is called Põãperi or põãpeseri. And the young woman
[601] will call such a fellow bridegroom /Port. noivo/, that is, Mã-ra-põ nỹãkhõ (future husband) or even Põrã-kõ nỹãkhõ (future genitor); and, vice versa, he calls her Nõ'mõ nyãkho (future wife) or Põrá-ko nỹãkho (future genitress).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

part of the Central American and Andean jaguar distribution; perhaps the Cubeo ranked clans and ancestral cult are also part of the Andean picture. However, where there is a cultural relationship it is probable that it moves in either direction. The lowlands took from the Andes; it is likely that they gave as well. Perhaps a close study of social conditions in the tropical forest could shed specific light on the spectacular historical developments in the Andes. The way in which the Cubeo maloca, the multifamily residence, tends to become a sib ceremonial center for those sib members who have broken away from it illustrates, for example, a possible process of ceremonial center formation.

Questions of culture history are inevitably to the fore when one compares the tropical forest with the Andes. But even as a separate entity the tropical forest area commands culture-historical interest. Cubeo social structure, for example, suggests some of the ways in which small social units such as extended and joint families and lineages grow into and combine to form more complex and more highly integrated social systems. Segments of one tribe attach themselves as entities to other tribes adopting a new language. Federations of segments are formed by various combinations of adoption, adhesion, and fission; these bind themselves together by ceremonial ties and not by ordinary political means of suprachieftainship. Other processes are at work elsewhere in the region. Thus it is not difficult to imagine that detailed comparative studies of tropical forest social structures could provide a rich foundation for the reconstruction of modes of social evolution, within a fixed range of social integration. As native Africa is a natural laboratory for the study of nascent states, the South American tropical forest as a major culture area is a natural laboratory for the study of variations in a small community, and lineage and clan organization.

In the foregoing discussion my intent was to provide the reader with a broad problem setting in which the Cubeo are viewed generally as a tropical forest culture. Since tropical forest anthropology is not too widely known this seemed a useful thing to do. However, the Cubeo are more specifically a part of the Northwest Amazon subculture area. The Northwest Amazon is designated as a subarea of the tropical forest in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. Not a sharply delineated area, it includes several of the major languages of lowland South America: Arawakan, Cariban, Tucanoan, Witotoan, and Macú. Of these language groups, Tucanoan (the language of the Cubeo), Witotoan, and Macú are restricted to the Northwest Amazon and were until recently listed as unclassified languages

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

visitor. On the other hand, the leaf-cutter ant is a specialist on clothing. I was once covered by a swarm of these ants while asleep. When I had carefully removed the last of them I was left with but a leather belt and a few tatters of trousers and shirt.

The anopheles mosquito is generally absent in the Cuduiarí region where I did my field work. On the whole, the health of the Cuduiarí Indians is good. Carate (*purú*), a skin pigment disorder apparently of spirochete origin, common everywhere else in the Northwest Amazon, was far less in evidence on the Cuduiarí. Children suffered from worms and other intestinal parasites but infant mortality was not particularly high. There were no epidemics during my stay. The recollections of the Indians about serious illness go back to the 1918 influenza epidemic that apparently ravaged the native populations in the region. Women, in particular, suffered from the painful purulent conjunctivitis, which they attributed to insect molestation in their manioc gardens. The bloated abdomens of children whose diet is too generous with carbohydrate and deficient in protein is a common sight along the Vaupés, but is less evident on the Cuduiarí, where native life and diet is still almost intact. As for the Cuduiarí itself, the people at the mouth of the river, the higher ranking *Hehénewa* sibs, seemed generally more sturdy, vigorous, and aggressive than the Indians who lived upstream.

Dr. Hamilton Rice, who explored the Vaupés in 1907–08, observed that the most physically powerful Indians came from the Cuduiarí. He noted men who were six feet tall and over, strongly built with thick arms and powerful torsos. Actually somatological variability is considerable on the Cuduiarí, ranging from marked mesomorphy to moderate ectomorphy. But this observation of mine is not based on measurements. Dr. Rice (1910) has published a physical description of the Cubeo based upon anthropometric observations. I quote from it:

> Their color is an olive brown corresponding to No. 4 of Broca's scale and seems invariable, a conclusion based on a comparison of the scale with many hundreds of subjects on parts of the cuticle least exposed to sun and pigmented decoration. The eye is dark, palpebral fissure narrow, not oblique, pointed at its external aspect, and the upper lid so heavy at times as to suggest the puffiness of oedema; but the eye by no means conforms invariably to so Mongolian a criterion, closely resembling the European eye in many other cases. The hair is black, lanky, coarse in the male, fine and glossy in the female. The faces are escutcheon-shaped and hairless, the chins rounded and receding, noses from straight and busque to hooked and Chinese flat types, region of cheek bones flat, lower lips large and inclined to turn slightly downward. The ears are not large, lobes absent or slightly devel-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

be interesting and he recorded tribal distributions and physical conditions of life as well as many customs. It is to Wallace that we owe the first report on mortuary endocannibalism among the Cubeo. Curiously, this information has never been properly authenticated. Wallace learned about it at second hand, as did Koch-Grünberg many years later. I observed what I thought to be this custom, but I could not verify that the bones being prepared for imbibing with chicha were human. The annoyance of the Indians when I accidentally came upon them while they were reducing bones to meal and pouring it into the chicha at the conclusion of a mourning ceremony led me to suspect that the bones were human. In response to my questions, however, no Cubeo would confirm my conjectures.

Wallace (1870, p. 354) traveled up the Vaupés to the mouth of the Cuduiarí River at the rapids of Uaracapurí, where he observed a community of several malocas. He did not enter the Cuduiarí, reporting only that to his knowledge no European had ever gone up that river. As for the Vaupés, this river, particularly in its Brazilian reaches, had in Wallace's time already become an important artery of European trade. Along the Isana River Wallace noted that the Indians were living in European-style dwellings. The Cuduiarí then had the reputation of a totally wild region. The Cubeo Indians seen by Wallace were still wearing large circular wooden plugs in their ears. By 1903, in the time of Koch-Grünberg, this form of male ornamentation had already been given up.

Curt Nimuendajú surveyed the Isana, Aiarí, and Vaupés rivers in 1927. In his notes, published posthumously in 1950, it is revealed that he correctly identified Tucano and Cubeo descent groups as patrilineal clans. He did not, however, enter the Cuduiarí, and his information on that river, being secondhand, is not too reliable.

My own field work on the Cuduiarí began in September 1939 and continued through June 1940. (Goldman, 1948, is a preliminary report.) The Cuduiarí had the advantage of being relatively accessible and as yet almost completely unacculturated. I decided upon the Cuduiarí after a survey of the Cubeo communities along the Vaupés.

CULTURE CHANGE

Cubeo culture has been subjected to acculturative influences from two sources, one from other Indian tribes and the other from European, Colombian, and Brazilian missionaries, settlers, traders, and latex extractors. Cultural interchange among Indian tribes in the Northwest Amazon region is, of course, an old and intricate process,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamíwa* (first people). They also offered *pudnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépudnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

pamíwa or a *pudúwa*. The group of exogamous sibs that form a phratry are spoken of as *kwindwũ*, *únhiwũ*, or *kwindnokauwũ*, all terms with the general meaning of "one kinfolk" or "the same kinfolk." However, I have also heard the expression *nuhénokauwũ* (my own kinfolk) used to refer to both tribe and phratry.

If tribal designation is vague, the native concept of tribe is only a little more definite. Tribe refers more or less to a common identity of language, descent, and custom. One of the Cubeo phratries was, in fact, once Arawakan. To become tribesmen they adopted the language, customs, and traditions of the Cubeo. Other sibs appear to have been at one time Macú as well as sections of the Tucano "tribe." There are no formal bonds of tribe and there is no acknowledgment of tribal overlordship. Cubeo social structure is segmentary, the patrilineal sib being the basic segment. Every sib has established relationships with other sibs to regulate marriage, ceremonial participation, friendships, and hospitality along traditional lines, but also to some degree along lines that suit its own particular interests.

The phratry is a more sharply defined and a far more important social aggregate than tribe. A phratry is a confederation of sibs that are closely bound by rules of exogamy, by common residence along the same river, by a tradition of common origin and descent, by a graded order of rank that assigns to each sib its place in a social hierarchy, and, finally, by a series of ceremonies, solemn as well as secular, such as drinking parties at which each sib entertains its fellow sibs. Withal, there is no phratric overlordship, no phratric council or other agency to consider policy for the phratry as a whole.

What gives a phratry cohesiveness is the pattern of relations that the individual sibs, each acting individually, have formed with one another. The most important of these relationships is the rule of exogamy. By adhering to a rule of exogamy the sibs regard themselves as "brothers," for fraternity is based on the kinship principle that brothers cooperate and share the same rules of exogamy. Most sibs in a phratry have been joined together from the traditional beginnings or the time of first emergence, others are newcomers who have been adopted into the cofraternity of sibs. Adoption is the prerogative of an individual sib. A sib adopts an alien group as a subsib and automatically gives it a place and rank in the phratry. The phratry is no homogeneous federation of fraternal sibs. It is differentiated by rank, by historic background, and by geography. Sibs of the same historic background and of similar rank who are neighbors on the river feel closer to one another and form, therefore, an unofficial but still evident inner circle. Normally, rank, historic background, and propin-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

associated with the *Kompaínyewa*. Koch-Grünberg found them on the left bank of the Vaupés at a site called *Naibö*, where they were known in the *lingoa geral* as *Tokandira-Tapuyo*. He recorded their self-name as *Olá-Piaráwa*. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiarí.

Pyéndo-Hehénewa A dissident sib of the *Hehénewa* group, maintaining no friendly relations with the other *Hehénewa*. Their close sib ties are with the *Pedíkwa* and the *Kenánikauwü*. They occupy several sites above Patú at the headwaters of the Cuduiarí, the main maloca being at Querarí *miri* (*Enpanáwe*). They are also at *Abúhudjo* on the Yurupari *miri* and are known also as *Pyéndokauwü*.

Hwáni-Hehénewa A *Hehénewa* subsib on the Vaupés at Paraná *picuna* and at Tukano *cachoeira*. Their origin site is *Impenáni* of the Uaracapurí *cachoeira* and they are, therefore, closely related to the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnwewa*, in contrast to the *Hehénewa* proper, whose emergence was actually on the Papurý.

Aúnwewa A subsib of the *Aúnbwawü* on the Vaupés at *Upyaría* just above Mitú. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiarí and referred to them as *Aweéa*. They are also listed as a sib of a Tucano phratry.

Kompaínyewa Closely linked with the *Piaráwa*, they live at Pindaíva on the Vaupés just above Urania near the Yurupari falls. Their emergence site, however, is Uaracapurí.

Abúxo-Hehénewa A sib on the upper Querarí mentioned by Koch-Grünberg, on which I have no information.

Ambomamára A sib on the Cuduiarí mentioned by Nimuendajú, on which I have no information. From the name it would appear to be a subsib of the *Aúnbwawü*.

Byarí-Hehénewa An extinct subsib of the *Hehénewa*, who had lived on the Cuduiarí as well as at Uarúa Lake on the upper Vaupés. They were also known as *Byaridowa*.

Papuli-Hehénewa A sib living on the Cuduiarí during the time of Koch-Grünberg's visit at Suriburoca but now extinct. They came from the Papurý and were closely linked with the Tucano tribe of the Tiquié River.

Kenámbwawa A sib on the upper Cuduiarí, presumably a subsib, along with the *Kenánikauwü*, of the *Pedíkwa*.

Phratry I consists of two divisions that represent distinct origins. In the past these two divisions may have been intermarrying, because even now, although the entire phratry is exogamic, informants disagree as to the proprieties of intermarriage between the two divisions. The dominant division from the point of view of prestige and of numbers is known as *Yavímanawa* (Children of the jaguar) and includes the *Órobawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, and their subsibs: *Byá-Hehénewa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, *Pedíkwa*, *Kenánikauwü*, *Utriwaiwa*, *Pyéndo-Hehénewa*, *Hwáni-Hehénewa*, and *Aúnwewa*. The second division has no name and consists of the *Bahúkiwa* groups, the *Piaráwa*, and the *Kompaínyewa*.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

615
614
554
361

PHRATRY II

Buroibowa The leading sib of the phratry, living at Muchú on the Vaupés. According to tradition, they came from the Isana River originally. They emerged at a rapids called *Aíndoribo* at a site called *Hobónoburúno*. Originally they fought with the *Byówa*, now a sister sib of the phratry. Koch-Grünberg encountered an abandoned maloca of theirs at Uarúa Lake, where they had been living adjacent to the Tucanoan-speaking but non-Cubeo *Pamóa*. The indications are that they had moved in recent years considerably downstream on the Vaupés.

Byówa A group occupying all of the Pirabatón, an affluent of the Querarí. Koch-Grünberg placed them at the headwaters of the Querarí, but since he had not identified the Pirabatón that may be the river that he called the upper Querarí. They are strongly intermarried with *Bahúkiwa*.

Hürüwá Members of a foreign phratry living on the Cuduiarí, where they occupy a number of upriver sites, having replaced a *Hehénewa* subsib. They emerged from a site called *Kohédariwa* above Uaracapurí on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg met them in the same locations on the Cuduiarí. He claimed they were originally Arawakan-speaking Baniwa who had wandered in from the Vaupés.

Wadjá-Hürüwá A subsib of the *Hürüwá* at *Kwitóro* on the Cuduiarí.

Korówa Primarily a Querarí River sib that had spilled over onto the Cuduiarí at one time. Wallace reported them there in 1853. They are closely linked with, and according to Koch-Grünberg politically subordinate to, the *Byówa*. In more recent times they have settled on the Vaupés, where they have also been reported by Nimuendajú. They also had a house on the lower Cuduiarí. They are known as *Korókoro-Tapuyo* (Green Ibis Indians).

[101]

Waláola A group mentioned by Nimuendajú as living on the Vaupés. Presumably a subsib of the *Korówa*.

Miandwa A group occupying several sites in the vicinity of the Tukunaré *igarapés* on the upper Vaupés – *Makakinyo, Jacaré, Seima* – as well as at Pirabatón *igarapés*. Koch-Grünberg found a small group of only four families living at the Yurupari falls on the lower Vaupés. Nimuendajú also found them on the Vaupés.

PHRATRY III

[101]

Djurémawa Nimuendajú has identified them as the *Yiboya-Tapuyo* of the Aiarí River in Brazil. He says they came to the mouth of the Querarí on the Vaupés in 1904. According to Koch-Grünberg, they were once hostile Arawakan Baniwa who had assimilated to Cubeo and are close kin of the *Káua* of the Aiarí. The Uanana, Koch-Grünberg reports, call them *Maxka-Pinopona* (Boa).

Tóriawú A sib on the Querarí, originally Arawakan-speaking, that claims to have come from the Isana.

Konéntaraboiwú According to Koch-Grünberg, who referred to them as *Kolátalaposuo*, they were Baniwa Arawakans who settled on the Querarí and assimilated to the Cubeo language. He noted that they were intermarried with the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí. The *Bahúkiwa* also married them. Nimuendajú mentions a *Kowitárabewi* on the Querarí, perhaps the

6: Moser and Tayler E, N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

102
133
• 101

[P. 32]

115 Hitherto José had remained silent and appeared to know nothing of these engravings nor had he given us any indication of their whereabouts. This was surprising, for, being himself a Barasana, of a Tukano clan, he was presumably aware of their existence. Then one evening, perhaps encouraged by our curiosity, he told us the following anecdote:

● 101 773 796 'The Barasana have always lived here, they were born here. They and the Taiwano have always been friends and had common enemies in the Tatuya, Karapana and Ureti whom they used to fight with bow and arrows. They both have the same god who has power over all things. It is he who made Ni, in his own likeness, the drawings have been here for ever, and this is the only place where they occur. The other Indians do not have them.' He pointed to a great natural pillar of granite called the Bee, which stood in the river upstream of Ni: 'That rock was once a pile of manioc, which the people had placed there. Ni turned it into stone. Below the rapids is the underwater cave, his palace, where the god sings to the drawings and the spirits.'

532 132

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

7
Missing Links

Until we had passed the last rapids on the Piraparaná we were always anxious, as we were never sure how long José would stay with us. Had he left us we might have found it difficult to get other Indians to help, and certainly we could never have managed *El Diablo* ourselves. There were many occasions when he had threatened to leave, but so far he had been persuaded not to. So it was with some relief that we passed these rapids, though there was nearly disaster, for José determined to take *El Diablo* through fully loaded. We watched aghast from the bank as for a moment the boat completely disappeared from view in the turbulent water. But somehow she stayed afloat.

Now the river was anything from thirty to a hundred yards across. It wound sluggishly this way and that between low banks covered in dense forest and bordered with *miriti* palms. There were no houses, for most of the land was liable to flooding during the wetter months. We saw no Indians on the river, nor any canoes moored to the banks. At times the river meandered forming giant oxbows, where, through the sparse jungle, we could see a bend in the river that we had passed perhaps an hour before. At one of the bends a low cliff rose sheer from the water's edge. It was formed from clay and shales of Tertiary age, and in the beds Brian found deposits of lignite, tree-trunks and plant remains. To the west of us lay the Apaporis, to the east continuous forest as far as the Río Negro, the home of strange, seldom-seen foresters, the nomadic Maku.

Since leaving Bréo's *maloca* we had been troubled less by flies and insects; the jigger worms, which had laid their eggs in our feet when we walked barefoot about the *malocas*, no longer bothered us. Only the *nutchis* remained as they took some days to incubate. One night after an exceptionally large one was removed from Donald's shin, he wrote, 'A rather painful process. However it had its reward for it was definitely a record breaker – fat, furry, and fully half an inch in length....' They could only be extracted by using nicotine to poison them, or rubber latex to block their breathing holes where they lay under the skin. We never learnt how we got these painful worms.

ABOVE AND BELOW: *Dancing at the festival to celebrate the manioc harvest.*

7: Sørensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon[1]

ARTHUR P. SORENSEN, JR.
State University of New York at Binghamton

• 101
191
197
582

In the central Northwest Amazon, straddling the Brazilian-Colombian border, there is a complex linguistic situation involving more than 25 linguistic groups with a homogeneous culture. Almost every individual knows fluently three, four, or more languages. Only the Makú and the few non-Indians are monolingual. There are four linguae francae, but only tribal Tukano, doubling as a lingua franca, covers the entire area. The principal reason for this complexity is the insistence on tribal exogamy and the cultural identification of language with tribe. Consequently, a child begins with a personal linguistic repertoire of fluency in his mother's language as well as in his father's; to this he adds a knowledge of other languages in his vicinity. Contact with civilized people for 75 years has not significantly altered this linguistic situation, and periodic attempts to prohibit Indian languages have failed. The political boundary, which separates Portuguese speakers from Spanish speakers, reinforces the linguistic complex, for only Tukano, as a lingua franca, covers the entire culture area. Polylingualism in the individual, rather than monolingualism, is the cultural norm.

THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND LINGUISTIC UNITS

Setting and Culture Area

In the central part of the Northwest Amazon, there is a large multilingual area encompassing many tribes, each possessing its own language, where almost every individual is polylingual—he knows three, four, or more languages well. The area of multilingualism coincides largely with the area in which the Tukano tribal language is a lingua franca. This area can be roughly defined as the Vaupés River and its tributaries. (The Vaupés flows into the Rio Negro, which in turn flows into the Amazon.) The region is the size of New England, or slightly larger. About half of it lies in Colombia and half in Brazil. The population is sparse, about 10,000.

161
13
501

The area is in tropical rainforest, its terrain transitional between rolling plain and hilly upland. Geologically it is the most westerly extension of the Guiana highlands. Although some of the rivers are large—the Vaupés is over 1,000 feet wide—navigation, because of the many rapids, is restricted to dugouts and to small boats that can be hauled. This has made for a relative inaccessibility that has helped protect the Indian culture, especially during rubber boom times. The area, however, has not been isolated: there has been continuous contact with civilization since the rubber booms began around 1875.

101
[361]

Most tribes occupy a delimited, continuous stretch of a river; a few have a discontinuous settlement pattern. Altogether they form one

[P. 670-A]

101 large, homogeneous cultural group in the center of what is identified in the literature as the Northwest Amazon culture area. (For culture area descriptions, see Steward 1946–1959, Goldman 1948, Murdock 1958, Steward and Faron 1959, and Galvão 1960.) There is historical as well as traditional evidence that some of these tribes may have originated outside of the Vaupés area, subsequently acculturating to the general central Northwest Amazon culture. Other tribes seem to have originated locally, from proliferation by fission. Koch-Grünberg (1909–1910), for instance, considers the Wanano newcomers (among others). Although it has not been especially noted in the literature, some tribes present social organizations that are atypical for the area. The Piratapuyo, for instance, retain moieties, which until recently functioned as exogamous intermarrying units in an otherwise tribally exogamous and moiety-lacking culture area. Goldman (1963), who noted multilingualism, also reports on the diverse origin of various sibs among the Kubeo. On the other hand, field notes on the Tuyuka-Yurutí (or Dochkapūra-Uaiana [the *Uaikana* are the Piratapuyo]) set of tribes and languages suggest their derivation from a common source.

174 101 [616]

A couple of the larger tribes do not live in one continuous area, but in several areas. The numerous Tukano tribe occupies several continuous stretches of the Vaupés River and its principal tributaries, the Tikié and the Papurí, and also sites at the mouths of tributaries to these rivers. Historically, they have exerted

101 [131]

[P. 670-B]

• 101 a dominant influence in the area. The Tukano tribal language serves as the lingua franca of [191] the entire area. (Its use as a lingua franca antedates the appearance of other linguae francae in the region.)

The various tribes making up this large, homogeneous cultural group contain about 90 percent of the people in the area. The remainder consists of two ethnic groups. One is the Makú Indians, who live away from the rivers and are more or less nomadic. They do not intermarry with the riverine Indians. The other consists of the non-Indians, who call themselves *blancos* (in Spanish) or *brancos* (in Portuguese), and who number perhaps 1,500. Most of them live in the two or three air-strip towns. Their economy is centered around rubber gathering, and they include about 150 missionaries, who maintain some dozen missionary posts. The non-Indians have a strong monolingual tradition, speaking only either Spanish or Portuguese. They have shown little inclination to learn the Indian languages or to participate in Indian culture.[3] There is little intermarriage between Indians and *blancos* (who mostly consist of *mestizo-criollos*).

184 Here, then, is a large, culturally homogeneous area where multilingualism—and poly-
191 lingualism in the individual—is the cultural norm. Anthropologically, this is a culture trait, and it is an outstanding culture trait of the area.

Social Units

61 Social units of primary importance to the analysis of multilingualism in the central Northwest Amazon culture area are the nuclear family, lineage, sib, tribe, phratry; the longhouse group; the linguistic group; and the [797] exogamy group. Secondarily important, as they represent aggregations from among the above, are the mission village, the rubber-working group (an incipient *patrón-peón* group), and the nationality group. In the structural interrelations of all these groups, the sib occupies a focal position.

Several nuclear families may be found in a lineage, and several lineages in a sib (or patrilineal clan), which is the named and localized unit of social organization. A tribe is a named political and ceremonial unit, consisting of several sibs; it has a separate history and is identifiable by a distinct language. Barring the few exceptions where some of its sibs belong to a different phratry from that of the major-

[P. 671-A]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

191
648

cannot be called a "broken Spanish." At the missions, the insistence on using only Spanish has at times had an effect the reverse of the one desired and has invigorated Tukano and the other Indian languages. Along with measures to civilize the Indian linguistically and get him out of the longhouse and into civilized villages, there have been attempts to detribalize the Indians by de-emphasizing exogamy. All these efforts, however, have only served to reinforce the persistence of the native languages.

Because this area is politically divided by the boundary between Colombia and Brazil, an Indian from Brazil who knows Portuguese finds that when he goes any distance into Colombia, Portuguese is not understood. Conversely, Colombian Indians find they cannot use their Spanish in the interior of the Brazilian section. They then resort to their principal lingua franca, Tukano, which is understood on both sides of the border. And this situation obviously helps also in continuing Tukano as the main lingua franca.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOME CURRENT ISSUES

The One Language/One Culture Image

• 101
197

As I have shown, the multilingualism in the homogeneous culture of the central Northwest Amazon area serves to demarcate distinct, exogamous social units. Homogeneity of culture in this area does not mean homogeneity of language. And to speak of one language is not to speak of one entire culture. Indeed, with minor regional variations, the larger Northwest Amazon cultural area extends far beyond the bounds of the central, multilingual area described in this paper. Moreover, the cultural area includes some societies acculturated to lesser or greater degree to civilization but whose populations still prefer to speak aboriginal languages and to coin new terms in their own languages rather than borrow alien words. Data from the central Northwest Amazon bear directly, therefore, on the prevalent one language/one culture assumption, which, as Hymes (1964) and Gumperz (1961) point out, needs critical review.

The homogeneous culture area of the central Northwest Amazon has been circumscribed, perhaps somewhat artificially, as the area characterized by multilingualism as a culture trait. Within it there is no one language that

[P. 681-A]

101
197

is father-language to all, nor is there any one language that is mother-language to everyone. What is father-language to some is mother-language to others and an unknown language to still others, all people who bear the same culture. The distribution of Tukano, as the lingua franca, does largely coincide with the extent of this culture area. But this is partly because a lingua franca accompanies multilingualism, and it is this trait of multilingualism that sets off the cultural area. The widespread distribution of Tukano and its near coincidence with the central Northwest Amazon culture area does not lend any special monolithic quality to Tukano such as is revealed in the promulgation of Spanish and Portuguese. Despite much situational reinforcement, Tukano continues to exist as a lingua franca at all only because it has tenuously and flexibly become amalgamated into the cultural picture. Indeed, the linguistic area of Tukano merges into the area of Nheengatú and thence into the area of Portuguese; the cultural areas of tribal Indians and of detribalized caboclos have perimeters that differ from those of the linguistic areas.[9]

191

Implications for Transformational Linguistic Theory

A number of details in the preceding description of the multilingual society in the central Northwest Amazon force some reconsideration of certain basic premises of transformational linguistic theory. Chomsky (1965:3–9) states that linguistic theory is concerned with the tacit knowledge of an ideally fluent speaker-hearer in a homogeneous speech community. An ideally fluent speaker-hearer in the central Northwest Amazon has to be someone who is *not* monolingual. This poses the question of whether the ideally fluent speaker is to carry one model of Language or several models, one for each of his languages, in his head. Even very closely related languages appear to be kept fastidiously apart by speakers, and the very differences among these closely related languages often are of the same kind of subtlety, especially of surface structure rules and near-surface structure rules, whose exposure has been a major contribution of transformational linguistics. This leads to the further question of how any one language, which forms only part of a normal polylinguistic individual's repertoire (which in turn varies from individual to individual), is to be accounted for. There is also the question of

191

what is to be considered a homogeneous speech community. I have suggested that the best candidates in this community are the long-house group and the mission village group, whose members share common poly- and multilingual patterns. This necessitates our recognizing hundreds of distinct homogeneous speech communities in the one culture area.

To treat the description of any *one* of these languages as representing the tacit knowledge of a speaker or the language of a speech community is clearly unrealistic. The one language represents only part of the individual's competence in Language, and only part of the speech community's\ configuration of languages. Description of only one language necessarily can account for only part of the grammatical sentences an individual within a speech community may utter—unless the description of a "single language" can incorporate several, or alternative languages. A linguistic theory limited to one language/one group situations is inadequate to explain the actual linguistic competence of the people of the central Northwest Amazon.

APPENDIX: INVENTORY OF TRIBES AND LANGUAGES

101
197
191

The following tribes and languages have been noted and checked directly in the field.

(1) Tribes and languages directly involved in multilingualism:

(A) Eastern Tukanoan language family, arranged in subgroupings suggested by a preliminary attempt at reconstruction by the comparative method (there are probably a few more languages to be documented in this group in subsequent field trips): Tukano, Tuyuka and Yurutí, Paneroa and Eduria, Karapana and Tatuyo, Barasana; Piratapuyo, Wanano; Desano and Siriano; Kubeo.

(B) Arawakan language family: Tariano; Baré. Most Tarianos now use Tukano as their household or father-language, and they marry Tukanos; many younger Tarianos do not know Tariano, although they are polylingual in other languages. The Baré along the Middle and Lower Vaupés use either Tukano or Nheengatú as their household or father-language, and very few speakers of the original Baré are left; the Baré are largely detribalised and caboclo-ized.

(C) Several tribes-and-languages of various families of the Pirá-Paraná (Moser 1963) await direct checking in the field: Tabaino, Erulia (distinct from Eduria), Makuna,

101
197

Yekuana, Datuana, and others. The status of some of these as dialects or languages also remains to be determined. For example, Tatuyo informants have mentioned an Owa language spoken by some Tatuyos, but there has not been an opportunity to check this out. The few Miritítapuyo of the Middle Tikié appear to use either Tukano or Desano as their household or father-language.

(D) Tupí-Guaranían language family: Nheengatú.

101
197
191

(2) Tribes and languages bordering the multilingual area (many members of these tribes may be bilingual or even polylingual, but multilingualism is not widespread in a given tribe; many Indians of the multilingual area may include one or more of these languages in their repertoires):

(A) Arawakan language family: Kuripaka and Baniva. These are reported by some informants to be almost mutually intelligible.

(B) Undetermined language families: Karibona, Guayavero. I also have names, in Tukano only, of some dozen other languages spoken around the periphery of the area and along the Rio Negro.

(3) Languages spoken in the multilingual area, but by speakers who do not possess multilingualism as a culture trait:

(A) Undetermined language family: Makú (Makú may be more than one language). A few Makú know Tukano or Desano or some other language, including Spanish or Portuguese, but most Makú do not; a few Tukanos, Desanos, Piratapuyos, and Tuyukas know some Makú.

(B) Indo-European language family: Spanish, Portuguese, Italian. Two Colombian dialects of Spanish are found: Antioqueño, spoken by most missionaries, and Llanero, spoken by most rubber-gatherers. "Vaupense" Spanish is basically Llanero Colombian Spanish with the addition of many Nheengatú and some Portuguese terms for things pertaining to the tropical rainforest.[1]

(C) A special case is provided by languages neither spoken in the area nor represented there by groups of speakers. Small lists of words in Dutch can be obtained from older Indians on the Papurí, even though the former Dutch Montfortiano Fathers did not attempt to use Dutch with the Indians. Some Indians, moreover, have learned a considerable amount of Latin.

104

Spellings. Most names for languages and tribes in the literature are Nheengatú names, carried over into Spanish, Portuguese, Ger-

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

104 man, English, etc. There is great variation in the spellings. The spellings in this paper tend to follow those of Koch-Grünberg, who still remains the general authority for the area as a whole. His spellings are close to those used for Nheengatú. They generally conform with those used for world-wide ethnographic spellings; in addition, they seem to have been the spellings more commonly used in English, German, Portuguese, and Spanish ethnographies on South America.

• 101 161 191 *Population estimate.* Population figures are hard to estimate. The following are very impressionistic. Tribes with 1,000–2,000 members: Tukano, Kubeo, Baré; Spanish-only speakers. Tribes with 500–1,000 members: Piratapuyo, Wanano, Desano. Tribes with 150–500 members: Tuyuka, Yurutí, Paneroa, Eduria, Karapana, Tatuyo, Barasana, Siriano, Tariano, Tabaino, Makuna, Tekuana, Datuana; Portuguese-only speakers. Of the latter tribes, Yurutí, Yekuana, and Datuana may number [797] fewer than 150 members. A few Salesian missionaries, in Brazil, are Italians.

There are probably a few hundred Makú in occasional contract with the multilingual Indians in this area.

Non-Indians probably number about 1,500 and are concentrated in the few air-strip towns.

For a very round figure, a population of 10,000 has been estimated for the multilingual area in which Tukano is the chief lingua franca. Of these 10,000, only the non-Indians, the Makú, and some of the Kubeo are not multilingual, so that over 80 percent of the population is multilingual. As the non-Indians are concentrated in the few air-strip towns and a dozen missionary posts, the effective distribution of multilingualism is much higher; close to 100 percent of the communities encountered in the area are multilingual. Of the multilingual Indians, well over 90 percent know Tukano at least as a lingua franca, with young children accounting for the majority of the few who do not.

NOTES

[114] [12] [1] This report is an expanded version of a paper presented to the Tenth Annual National Conference on Linguistics in New York on March 13, 1965. Field work was done in the summers of 1959, 1960, and 1962 and from June to December 1963. It was supported during much of this time by USPHS Research Grant MH-17,258. I wish to acknowledge the hospitality and cooperation extended to me by the Xaveriano missionary order in Colombia and the Salesian missionaries of the Brazilian Vaupés region. Various drafts of this paper were read by Drs. Charles

[P. 683-A]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

000

Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

797

[1] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921–22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brazil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

177
563
61
582

[2] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely that the *caboclo* population of the Lower Vaupés River and adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Cabocios are detribalized (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Caboclo culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The caboclo population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1965). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of cabocios. The caboclo population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "*caboclo*" is Portuguese; in Vaupense Spanish it is "cabuco," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be cabocios.

000

[3] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1965). See Naroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

124
191

[4] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded interviews taken along the course of the Papuri and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper- to middle-Tiké. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field notebook. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of this activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data *about* each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informants gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally rumored politico-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

177
• 101
197

[5] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by figuratively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adapt to a caboclo type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).

[P. 683 - B]

/97/

Aspects of Tukano /Tucano/ Culture: Cosmogony

by Marcos Fulop

121 122 /Page 98 is blank./

/99/ Commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, we are initiating ethnographic studies among the natives of the Comisaría Especial del Vaupes. We have considered it convenient to begin the anthropological study of the cultures of this region with the Tukano /Tucano/ group.

114 The material that is published below was gathered during
101 our stay in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River,
124 from June 13 to July 9, 1953. Our informant was Marcos Sierra,
128 and Manuel Sierra, the brother of the preceding, served as inter-
772 preter. Owing to the short time of the investigation and to hav-
772 ing consulted only one informant, we are not able to guarantee
769 the exactitude of the version of the Tukano cosmogony given by Marcos Sierra. This cosmogony is repeated in the manner of a cult to the ancestors during the feasts of Dabukurí and Yuruparí.

105 171 The Tukano culture is actually representative of the cultures of the tropical forests of South America. Their regimen of life is sedentary; they practice horticulture, and bitter yuca (1)

1. Manihot utilissima.

constitutes the basis of their alimentation, which is supplemented with products obtained by means of hunting and fishing; they are efficient in the construction and handling of river vessels; they use the hammock for a bed; they possess the art of ceramics and do not know metalurgy.

131 The Tukano Indians are found located on the lower Vaupés /Uaupés/ River, from the falls of Ipanoré to the outlet of the Vaupés into the Río Negro; on the Tiquié and Papurí /Papury/ rivers; and on small streams that empty into these three rivers.